195 The curious locutions of the Pangwe language, such as a bê
241 bidžǐ = to plant "food," that is, to plant, and a nyǒn bidžǐ = to take "food," that is, to harvest, seem to indicate that the cultural level of the farmer followed that of the primitive collector. That is to say, the expression suggests that the conscious cultivation of plants developed from the observation and exploitation of edible leaves, fruit, and the like found wild in nature. The Pangwe have wholly risen above the latter stage, and they revert to it only occasionally in periods of distress.

241 Their agriculture is hoe culture, that is, the soil is loosened by means of the hoe and digging stick. The hoe (ebă'k, Ntum; ebăk, Fang), Figure 48, consists of a piece of iron tied to a wooden handle bent in the form of a hook; the digging stick (evīē'n Ntum, Fang; tŏn, Jaunde) is a wooden stick with the end shaped like an incisor. The hoe is used by the women, the digging stick by the men /86/. Other agricultural implements are the ax (ovŭ'n), Figure 49, and the bush knife (fă-tsi IV), Fig. 50. The latter, which today has been almost completely replaced [111] by the European cutlass, nkpwēdă' I, is used to dig tubers, such as yams, and to level the soil. For the latter purpose I also observed the use of wooden spades attached to a handle.

Tillage begins with the clearing of the ground (a lī tsi). First, the lianas, undergrowth, and thinner trees are cut down with the cutlass. In this way some elbow room is created, and the larger trees can be felled with an ax. /Fig. 48 appears here in the original text./ Ordinarily a whole group of trees is tackled at one time in the following manner. The lianas are severed first so that they can no longer hold up the trees. The majority of the thinner tree trunks are merely notched, and then only one fairly massive tree is cut down. This tree when it falls brings down virtually the entire group of trees, together with its network of lianas. As a result, very little remains to be done. The very large trees are usually left standing to provide shade. They are removed, by setting fire to the roots, only if it is absolutely necessary to do so. Without the help of fire, it would require a number of days to cut down such a giant tree, and the Pangwe rarely have time for this in the brief dry

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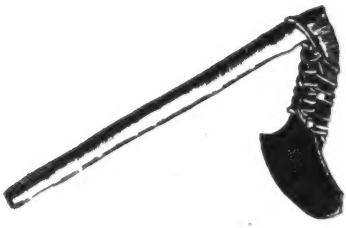

Fig. 48. Hoe.

Fig. 49. Ax.

Fig. 50. Bush Knife.

/87/

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Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text./ Once the bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dži ge tsi. At the end of the dry season one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter

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241 tasks, and from this division of labor it is apparent – this will
462 be pursued further later on – that the work which requires the greater effort is allotted to the men, while the easier work is left to the women. Since by the very nature of the matter the harder work lasts for a shorter period of time, the impression easily arises that the women have to perform considerably more work than the men, but this is not the case, and it is probable that the distribution of work is not much different from that in Germany, say. It is just that the type of work is different. To be sure,
[982] upon seeing the large, fully packed baskets which the women bring in daily from the fields (Fig. 51), the uninitiated observer might easily get such an erroneous impression, but the carrying of such disproportionately heavy burdens, which makes the women's bodies so deformed, is partly their own fault. One is reminded of the Low German proverb: "De Fule drägt sich doht un de Flitige löpt sich doht /the lazy one carries himself to death, and the industrious one runs himself to death/. The woman likes to
[461] rest in the afternoon, and many of them even have quite an aversion for work. Incidentally, this is a further reason for the
[731] frequent periods of food shortage (mentioned in the third section /not translated/), which at times develop into real famines. /88/

241 The most important staple food plants of the Pangwe are the following seven:

Southern Region (Fang)	Northern Region (Jaunde)
1. Cassava (manioc)	1. Cassava (manioc)
2. Plantain	2. Groundnut
3. Groundnut	3. Plantain
4. Ngon	4. Maize
5. Maize	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

It should be understood that the plants are listed here in the order of their importance as food plants, in other words, as "food" in the household, and not according to the extent of field work involved in their cultivation which would completely reverse the

1: Tessmann-- 53 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

order. Sugar cane, important only as a luxury or refreshment item and not as a staple food, would be added to such a list, while the plantain would be withdrawn completely because it thrives without any care and does not require intensive cultivation. Similarly, the cassava would not occupy a significant place in such a list since, even though it requires a certain amount of cultivation, it nevertheless continues to spread as a durable shrub and is not bound to definite seasons with respect to its growth and conditions for cultivation. The groundnut and ngon would now be most important plants. If one distinguishes field agriculture and gardening as different types of cultivation and uses area of cultivation as a yardstick for each of them, one gets the following order of plants.

Field Agriculture

1. Groundnut	Secondary plant, maize
2. Ngon	Secondary plant, yams
3. Cassava	Secondary plant, sugar cane as a luxury item.

Gardening

4. Taro	Secondary plant, macabo
5. Plantain	Secondary plant, banana as fruit

By this list I do not mean to imply that ngon must always be planted with yams, or cassava with sugar cane. There are farms which grow yams exclusively, and others which grow sugar cane exclusively. The list is merely intended to indicate that frequently the cultivation of these secondary plants is linked with that of the most important principal plants, and that above all the conditions of cultivation of the two are the same or at least similar. Thus, I can confine myself, for more precise description, to the cultivation of the five chief plants of the above list. /89/

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
●24 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

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Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

THE OMVANG

131 Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°50 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°05 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.
161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 520 inhabitants
Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

131 The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where
133 they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less then a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

174 P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

241 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.57 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

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Moisel map, G3, Dume.

Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

6:Alexandre and Binet--35 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

241 [844]

1. The Boulou call cotton sut and kapok sut duma; neither the cotton plant nor the kapok tree grows in their area. (P. A.)

family grows some tobacco, some pimentos, or condiments of various kinds, in short, all it consumes. Each plot of land, moreover, shows this multiple cultivation, since all sorts of plants are sown together according to the so-called system of companion crops, in contrast to European cultivation where one field is devoted exclusively to one crop.

241 242 This mixture of different plants probably avoids exhausting the soil of any one of its constituants. A stand of maize with its shallow roots absorbs what nourishment it needs, while the tubers of the macabo which surround it go deeper to feed themselves with other elements, and a few plantings of groundnuts enrich the soil by holding nitrogen in it. And yet, as an additional preventive measure, so to speak, the farmer varies his sowings from year to year. Does he consciously carry on true crop rotation, is he led to this practice by the length of growing cycles or by the needs of the plants?

241 After a rough clearing of the ground by burning, the women sow and plant the freshly cleared land: gourds, plantains, macabo to be harvested in a year or eighteen months, maize that will mature in five months. After the maize harvest, a second planting period is devoted to groundnuts; when they are mature, macabo, manioc, and plantain will be ready to harvest. Manioc is left in the ground for a long time and can, at need, provide tubers. The cycle completed, the ground is left fallow and goes back to bush. Fallow land that was abandoned for good at the time of the great migrations is now being put back into cultivation after a lapse of time that varies with the demand for land due to demographic pressure, with the quality of the soil, and with the nature of its reclamation. /30/

Obviously, there is no period of any length without a crop.

Except for maize, groundnuts, and pumpkin seeds, there is no crop that can be stored in a granary, a fact that has as much bearing on social psychology as upon building techniques. Working according to traditional methods, a woman cultivates 0.52 hectares a year to provide food for her family (1). There is another way of judging the

1. A mean based on /the work of/ 27 women (Ewondo and Bané) whose plots were measured

in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed./, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

6: Alexandre and Binet--96 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

423 2. Sautter, Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines, 1950 (no. 102).

[166] Migrations and conquests still belong to the recent past. Besides, /74/ the movement of peoples was effected without organization or authority: different clans, tribes, and peoples overlap, family by family, so that it is not possible to determine the territorial base of a collective group.

Among the Ewondo and Eton the situation is slightly different: the clans, probably better organized, preserved a certain amount of cohesion and carried out their conquest without becoming scattered. Therefore we find that they have boundaries between villages and collective rights over land. "Once plots of land have been cleared, they are not abandoned for good. A village looks upon them as a [341] reserve." In fact population density very much limits shifting cultivation.

[178] In the past forty years customs have changed a great deal and, among these peoples where land tenure was embryonic or nonexistent, ideas are arising that approximate Western rights of ownership.

[16] Population is now pretty nearly stable. It would be quite logical for rights over crops within a fixed boundary to arise, and in this direction some development is making itself felt. In certain areas 423 anyone may still cut wood, lianas, gather wild fruits, or hunt, to 241 satisfy his personal needs, but if he makes a profit from the sale of these things, he must obtain the consent of the family /occupying/ the area in which he carries on this activity. Elsewhere, the use of certain produce even for private requirements is subject to permission or to sharing the harvest. Thus the customary principle of the free use of natural goods is being restricted, at least in certain particular cases. With increase in population comes the idea of a virtual right over uncultivated forest lands. Families consider that they alone have the right to clear the land on which they depend. Men with experience state clearly that "formerly everyone cleared forest land without asking anyone's permission. Now that the country is becoming populous, permission must be asked." In less populated cantons clearing in the great forest goes on without restriction.

In conformity with ancestral customs, the harvest belongs to the cultivators: a right over personal property rather than a right over land. Nevertheless, a tendency toward a right of land ownership is

423 241 making itself felt. Indeed, before any sowing, trees have to be cut down and the land cleared. This work has a relatively permanent effect: to clear undergrowth of ten to fifteen years is less difficult than to clear a bit of primary forest. Furthermore, the original clearer of the land is acknowledged to have rights over the fallow. Within a family, each head of a household can put back into cultivation fields which he used to work, and in such a case each wife has the right to go back to her old plot. When collective ownership is involved, the process has not been so clear. This is understandable, for when a village leaves its old site and no one remains in the neighborhood, it means that no return is expected. Therefore, abandoned sites may in general be occupied without difficulty and without explicit agreement.

But in the case of cacao plantations it is obvious that the right arising /75/ from cultivation is transformed into right over land. Right to the harvest has turned into right over the tree that bears it and over the ground in which the tree grows: the duration of a plantation justifies this transition by settling men for two or three generations.

This transition, however, has not been entirely accomplished, and some people want to insure their right over the land by planting trees upon it; and peculiar devices may be observed, such as a competitor's setting out cacao trees between those of an emigrant planter, in order to oust him.

423 609 Development /evolution/ in the direction of ownership has not yet ended. There is now a right of use, but a right of disposal has not been established. Many believe that land cannot be sold. Not, it seems, on religious /sic/ grounds, but because the collective group would /in such a case/ be definitely defrauded. In this connection the attitude toward outsiders /l'attitude des erangers/ is indicative. In this region of inextricably mingled clans and tribes, the problem of outsiders arises constantly. Those that belong to sister tribes are looked upon almost as members of the group, but others, coming from more distant populations, follow special regulations. They must ask for land from the head of the family near which they settle: he authorizes them to clear a field for a subsistence crop, but forbids them to plant cacao trees. In fact, if making a field of maize gives right of possession to the land for a few months, the establishment of a cacao plantation would lead to long-lasting possession. There is no question of a custom connected with the owning of trees, since the older inhabitants insist that formerly

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akameyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described.
To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
[824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun
or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc,
the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is
also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs,
and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air.
[558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village,
then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia
antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[187] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their
rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be
[834] abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and
immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along
with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles
ought to come from the old village, having issued from those
which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of
fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Mean-
while the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will
certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved
in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following
year.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue [842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next [782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 227 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 276 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 241 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

779
778 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then